

territory of Hawaii. In this way, if in any way, the evils which threaten the negro may be averted.

The people of the United States seem to be only beginning to realize that the War between the States was more a *Race War* than anything else, not of Saxon against Saxon, but of the free laborer of the North against the slave laborer of the South, who, by a strange set of conditions, not of the white man's own choosing, was protected by six million men of Anglo Saxon blood. The contest began, not for the purpose of freeing the negro, but for the purpose of *excluding slave labor from the Territories*, lest competition against the white laborer in localities up to that time not occupied at all should be inaugurated. It is well known that the negro is not tolerated by the farm laborer, mechanic, miner, railroad employee, or by any other handi-craftsman in any Northern or Western state as he is tolerated as yet every where in the South to-day; and it was largely the handi-craftsmen of the great North West who settled the question at the point of the bayonet against slave labor, though protected by the men of the Anglo-Saxon blood in the South. No laborer of any race, and least of all no negro laborer, has ever been met on the border of a Southern state, as the negro was met on the border of Illinois recently, with bullet and bayonet; nor has the Governor of any Southern state threatened peaceable laborers with Gatling guns as Governor Tanner, of President Lincoln's own state and a member of President Lincoln's own political party, threatened peaceable negro miners going from Alabama to seek work in Illinois, nor to this day has a finger been raised to bring these murderers of negro miners to justice. And this race antagonism, which exists everywhere and among all races, and no where perhaps more strongly than among the white laborers of the North West against the negro, must be met successfully by the negro if he is to survive, and every thing which tends to stimulate race antagonism must be avoided.

But not only must race antagonism, existing everywhere, be met by the negro, but as a free man he has become the *competitor* of the white laborer in many fields of activity not occupied by him on his own account as a slave. He has become a carpenter, blacksmith, brick mason, shoe-makers, etc., on his own account; he has become a contractor and builder, a merchant, a livery stable keeper, a restaurant keeper, a mail carrier and a mail contractor; he has in some cases become a banker, a lawyer, a doctor; and in all these occupations and in others not named, he underbids the white man. This does not tend to improve the relations between the races. And the white laborer is taking the places vacated by the negro, so that the competition is both upward and downward. In these days of sharp competition between laborers of the same race, leading sometimes to bloodshed, racial differences are greatly emphasized. And this industrial competition must be reckoned with by the negro, who, being no longer protected by the Southern white man, must meet it in his own name and by his own innate power. And can the negro meet this competition successfully against a race which has exterminated the Celt and the Red man, which has excluded the Yellow man, and which has driven the Frenchman and the Spaniard off the North American Continent?